

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

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SUBJECT: HELSINGOR SUMMIT OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS

IN CONNECTION WITH THE HELSINGOR MEETING OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL-
ISTS JANUARY 18-19 (US VIEWS AND OBJECTIVES SENT SEPTTEL),
YOU SHOULD TAKE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE
FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY (PS) LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBLE FOR
AND/OR PARTICIPATING IN HELSINGOR CONFERENCE. (WE HAVE IN
MIND PS NATIONAL SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
ROBERT PONTILLON OR EQUIVALENT CONFIDANT OF FIRST SECRETARY
MITTERRAND). USE SUCH PORTIONS OF SEPTTEL AS APPROPRIATE.
YOU SHOULD ALSO STATE THE FOLLOWING:

1. CHANGES ARE OCCURRING IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF WESTERN
AND SOUTHERN EUROPE IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF COMMUNIST
PARTIES TO OTHER POLITICAL FORCES AND IN THE APPARENT
NATURE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES THEMSELVES. CURRENT EMPHASIS
BY CERTAIN COMMUNIST PARTIES UPON COOPERATION WITH DEMO-
CRATIC POLITICAL FORCES, UPON THE BALLOT BOX RATHER THAN
ARMED REVOLUTION, AND UPON "NATIONAL COMMUNISM" INDEPENDENT

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OF THE SOVIET UNION ILLUSTRATES SUCH CHANGES. NONETHELESS,

IT IS ESSENTIAL TO KEEP IN MIND WHAT HAS NOT CHANGED. THE COMMUNISTS OF WESTERN AND MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE REJECT THE CLOSE COOPERATION WHICH HAS DEVELOPED WITHIN EUROPE AND ACROSS THE ATLANTIC SINCE THE WAR. THEY OPPOSE THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM OF THE WEST WHICH HAS PROVIDED ASSURANCE AGAINST THE OUTBREAK OF A NEW EUROPEAN WAR. ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE LONG PARTICIPATED IN THE PARLIAMENTARY PROCESSES OF CERTAIN EUROPEAN NATIONS THE COMMUNISTS REMAIN ESTRANGED FROM AND HOSTILE TO THESE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES, AS THEIR FREQUENT SHIFTS OF IDEOLOGICAL LINE AND THEIR DIEHARD ELEMENTS HAVE REPEATEDLY DEMONSTRATED, IN FRANCE AND ELSEWHERE.

2. THE PROGRESS OF DETENTE IS FREQUENTLY CITED AS A SUPPOSED FACTOR ACCOUNTING FOR THE THAW OF COMMUNIST PARTY POSITIONS IN WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE, AND ARGUING FOR THE ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES TO ASSOCIATION WITH DEMOCRATIC PARTIES WITHIN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF NATIONS THERE. NO MORE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, NOW EMERGING AS A GREAT POWER OF WORLD-WIDE DIMENSIONS, COULD OCCUR THAN DISADVANTAGEOUS ALTERATION OF THE BALANCE OF PHYSICAL STRENGTH BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT GREATER COMMUNIST INFLUENCE UPON THE MILITARY AND BUDGETARY DETERMINATIONS OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES COULD IN ANY WAY CONTRIBUTE TO THEIR DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. YET THE LATTER FORM A MAJOR, INDISPENSABLE COMPONENT OF THE EQUILIBRIUM WHICH IS THE PREREQUISITE OF GENUINE DETENTE.

3. THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNIST GAINS IN CERTAIN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR OBTAINING ACCEPTANCE AS LEGITIMATE CONTENDERS FOR GOVERNMENTAL POWER, RAISE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE. DESPITE ITS OBVIOUS IMPERFECTIONS THE TRANSLATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF INTEREST HAS MADE POSSIBLE THE RESTORATION OF EUROPE, THE PROGRESS OF ITS UNIFICATION, AND THE EVOLUTION OF ITS POLITICAL LIFE FREE OF FOREIGN ARMED INTERVENTION. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONCILE COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN POLICY DETERMINATION AND THE HARMONIZATION OF POLICIES WITHIN THE ATLANTIC

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COMMUNITY THEY REPUDIATE. THE NATURE OF THE ENTIRE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE WOULD INEVITABLY CHANGE, THEREFORE, AND FOR THE WORSE, WERE COMMUNIST PARTIES TO OBTAIN POSITIONS OF POWER.

4. THE SITUATIONS IN ITALY, PORTUGAL, AND SPAIN ARE IMMEDIATE CONCERNS WHERE THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS SHOULD EXERT THEIR ACKNOWLEDGED INFLUENCE. SINCE NO VIABLE DEMO-

CRATIC MAJORITY IN THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT IS POSSIBLE
WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS,
DE MARTINO SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO RETURN TO A POLICY OF
COOPERATION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. PSI AMBIVALENCE

ABOUT ITS POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE REFLECTS ITS DOUBTS ABOUT
THE STRENGTH AND WILL OF THE DC TO RESIST THE COMMUNISTS,
AND ITS FEARS THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL TAKE OVER THE
NON-COMMUNIST LEFT. ITALIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS,
SCHEDULED FOR EARLY 1977, WILL PROVE DECISIVE WHETHER THE
DC CAN STABILIZE THE ELECTORAL SITUATION. PSI WILLINGNESS
TO WORK WITH THE DC IN THIS CRITICAL PERIOD WOULD GIVE
ITALY'S DEMOCRATIC FORCES THE TIME NEEDED TO RALLY SUPPORT.

5. WE AND THE EUROPEANS SHARE THE OBJECTIVE OF HELPING
SPAIN EVOLVE ALONG LINES WHICH WILL PERMIT ITS ENTRY INTO
THE COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS. INSTEAD OF EXERTING
PRESSURE ON THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO HASTEN THAT EVOLU-
TION THE WEST SHOULD SEEK TO STRENGTHEN THE KING AND HIS
MODERATE, PRO-EUROPEAN CABINET IN THEIR EFFORTS TO STEER
A REALISTIC COURSE. NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO HELP THE
SPANISH COMMUNISTS WHOSE DEMANDS WOULD, IF IMPLEMENTED,
POLARIZE SPANISH SOCIETY AND BRING ABOUT THE ATMOSPHERE
OF CHAOS IN WHICH THE COMMUNISTS WOULD THRIVE.

6. IN PORTUGAL THE PINHEIRO AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT IS MOVING
WITH SWIFTNESS AND DETERMINATION TO CONSOLIDATE ITS
POSITION. THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS WILL PLAY A CRITICAL
ROLE IN PRESERVING THE COHESION OF THE MODERATES, WHO HAVE
BENEFITED FROM THE STRONG SUPPORT GIVEN TO SOARES AND THE
SOCIALIST PARTY BY OTHER EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS. THIS SUPPORT
HAS BEEN A FACTOR OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE IN STRENGTHENING
AND ENCOURAGING THE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN PORTUGAL. THIS
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ASSISTANCE SHOULD NOT ONLY CONTINUE BUT BE EXPANDED,
PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS LOOMING ON
THE PORTUGUESE HORIZON. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED TO SOARES
THAT DESPITE THE TACTICAL REASONS UNDERLYING HIS CALL FOR
A CONFERENCE OF SOUTHERN EUROPEAN SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST
PARTIES, THE LONG TERM EFFECT OF THIS TACTIC WOULD BE THE
LEGITIMIZATION OF HIS GREATEST POTENTIAL ENEMY. KISSINGER

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